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The relations of the United States to England have continued amicable, though grave issues have been in doubt. We count ourselves fallen upon hopeful days when neither codfish nor seals can furnish a *casus belli* between us and our mother country.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Our office work has continued with steadiness. The Executive Committee have held meetings both frequent and well attended, including several special meetings. An unusually large meeting of the Directors elected our new Secretary, Rev. Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D., of whose fitness and qualifications for the position notice will be found in the June ADVOCATE.

THE PRESS.

Our usual methods of seeking to influence the public mind of old and young have been continued in the regular issues of the ADVOCATE and the *Angel of Peace*. We have printed and circulated somewhat widely Mr. Josiah Quincy's Oration, on the "Coming Peace;" Mrs. E. S. P. Ward's letter on the "Possible War with Chile," and "War Unnecessary" by Augustine Jones, and "Wm. Ladd, the Apostle of Peace," by John Hemmenway. We congratulate your Society in that it has some able coadjutors among the editors of the daily journals.

CORRESPONDENCE

Has been maintained with reference to both domestic and foreign affairs; especially in regard to Italian and Chilean matters. Some of this correspondence has been conducted by President Paine, personally.

THE OUTLOOK.

Clouds and darkness and forebodings greet the observer of the old world. Dynamite is enlisted in wicked hands. Italy is bankrupt, but too proud to quit the Triple Alliance. The present Republic of France has endured far longer than both of the former republics, but she has foes within and without. Russia is cursed with famine, and from far away America food is sent by the shipload. Yet an expensive ball is given meantime by the Russian legation, in Washington. In Spain, men have been found diabolically plotting the murder of the infant king. Only God Almighty can prevent the tension of European affairs from resulting in the horrors of war. We confidently look to Him therefore, while we work as opportunity offers for the triumph of his Gospel. England and America alone, of all the great powers, are in financial health and are continually decreasing their debts. What China may do, is a matter of serious concern, in view of the unrighteous Chinese Exclusion Bill, recently passed by our Government. Telegraphs and commercial bonds are not strong enough to hold nations together in the face of so gross violation of treaties.

We look to Berne with great hopes that the European mass may be much leavened through the labors of the approaching Congress. We look to Chicago, with absorbing interest in the possibilities of the next year, in the work of which we are planning to share.

And more than all, we look to God who holds the king's heart in his hand, as the rivers of water, and turneth it whithersoever He will, whether the kings be monarchs of the old world or the potentates of our own favored country where we are *all* kings.

ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING.

The annual public meeting of the Society was held on Sunday evening, June 5th, in the First Baptist Church, Commonwealth avenue, Boston.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the pastor, Dr. Philip S. Moxom, with a responsive reading of Psalms cxxi. and cxxii., and with appropriate music.

The President of the Society, Hon. Robert Treat Paine, was then introduced and spoke as follows:

PROGRESS OF ARBITRATION AMONG NATIONS.

PEACE TRIBUNAL OF THE WORLD.

America rejoices to-day in such profound security, with the idea of war so remote from her conscious life, that a Peace Society seems almost a superfluous luxury.

Yet this happy boast is not uttered, before we recall on the instant the surprising and certainly discreditable fact that three times almost within a twelvemonth rumors of the possibility of war have grown out of excitement directed against three honorable and friendly nations. Fortunately all three causes of disagreement have been laid at rest, and we can contemplate with dispassionate impartiality those different occurrences.

Italy and Chile have been such hereditary friends of the United States that our accord has never been broken by war, and between England and America the ties growing out of common descent, language, civilization and sympathy are so deep, that war should never be regarded as a possible thing by right-minded citizens of either land. What shock to the civilization of our times could be more terrible than war with England growing out of the protection of seal fisheries in the remote Behring Sea?

Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, just appointed Minister to France, has publicly stated that, in his judgment, the treaty of arbitration between our country and Great Britain dealing with the Behring Sea dispute is a more important application of the principle of arbitration than that which settled the Alabama claims some twenty years ago, yet in the judgment of the world the Alabama Arbitration is the grandest object lesson up to the present time, which the world has seen of serious disputes, which might have led to open war, settled by honorable arbitration; and the award approved by the sound judgment of the jurists of the world.

It is contended that the Behring Sea arbitration covers even graver problems in that it deals with the rights of nations, present and prospective, over vast extents of ocean.

We rejoice then to call attention to the fact that the principle of arbitration as a substitute for war grows almost from year to year in its honorable acceptance and adoption by great nations.

America, in the midst of all her overflowing physical prosperity, takes no profounder pleasure than in rendering substantial service to the welfare of mankind. Let me recall to your attention an event which has by no means received the attention in the United States which it deserves, and yet which marks an epoch of international importance. I refer to the adoption, by the Pan-American Convention of 1890 held at Washington at the invitation of the United States, of three recommendations. I quote from the letter of James G. Blaine addressed to the President from the Department of State at Washington under date of August 23, 1890.

To the President:

"The act of Congress approved May 24, 1888, authorized the President to invite the several other governments of America to join the United States in a conference 'for the purpose of discussing and recommending for adoption some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them.' In pursuance of this invitation the Conference recently in session at this capital adopted three reports:

"1. Recommending a definite plan of arbitration for the settlement of differences between the American nations.

"2. Recommending the adoption of a similar plan by the nations of Europe.

"3. Declaring that the right of conquest could not be recognized by the American nations."

JAMES G. BLAINE.

INFLUENCE AND ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES IN FAVOR OF ARBITRATION AMONG ALL NATIONS.

Treaties of arbitration have been made between most of the countries in North and South America pursuant to these proposals. The Department of State has also addressed to all other civilized countries, an invitation for negotiations to the end that disputes which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration. Switzerland is, I believe, the only European country which has yet entered into the suggested agreement for arbitration. Friends of Peace in England have been working strenuously to secure from their government an acceptance of this magnanimous offer from America, or at any rate, an explanation of reasons for their refusal. May we not submit confidently to the judgment of England or of France, the question whether such a treaty for arbitration between them and the United States would not redound to the great benefit of either of those nations if embroiled in serious war with some antagonist who might seek artfully if not successfully to create and then to inflame dissension between that country and the United States.

Yes, the United States have made an honorable offer which in the progress of the world they are not likely to withdraw, but which, while it stands, offers opportunities for cementing peace which other nations can lose nothing by accepting, but have very much to gain.

ITALY AND AMERICA

Have again happily restored those relations of chronic peace, and, on our part at least, of affectionate admiration and respect, which for a brief period were unhappily disturbed by the painful outbreak of mob violence at New Orleans.

We do not care to question too keenly the legal obligation of the United States to pay damages to Italy, but surely we can all rejoice that the offer of liberal compensation by the United States has been accepted by Italy in such kindly spirit as to remove all feelings of anger.

CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES

Have practically settled the dispute growing out of the massacre of some of our sailors in the port of Valparaiso. Has anything occurred this past year more shocking to the just sentiments of Christian civilization than the idea of war between a nation of the overwhelming power of the United States and the tiny if belligerent Chile, growing out of a drunken row between sailors, and this too when we were acting with such haste that the facts had not been established, and that an executive message which might have led to war was hurried into Congress after full and honorable apology had been received in the Department of State and was being translated by the clerks?

Must we not, with even-handed justice invite the criticism of the country upon the President's needlessly belligerent attitude in dealing with this little country of Chile when just emerging from the throes of a bloody civil war, while we also award to him honorable encomiums for his interest in the cause of peaceful arbitration, and his memorable words spoken in this behalf at the World's Methodist Conference last October in Washington:

"YOU HAVE," said he, "TO-DAY, AS THE THEME OF DISCUSSION, THE SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, AND THIS BEING A PUBLIC AND ENLARGED USE OF THE WORD PERHAPS MAKES MY PRESENCE HERE, AS AN OFFICER OF THE UNITED STATES, SPECIALLY APPROPRIATE."

"IT IS KNOWN TO YOU ALL THAT IN THE RECENT CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN STATES AT WASHINGTON, THE PROPOSITION WAS DISTINCTLY MADE AND ADOPTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL, OR NEARLY ALL THE GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED, THAT, AS APPLIED TO THIS HEMISPHERE, ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES SHOULD BE SETTLED BY ARBITRATION."

Fact of transcendent importance, An Epoch in the World's Progress!

SOCIAL FORCES OF OUR TIMES ARE WORKING FOR PEACE.

The glory of these times of ours, does it not lie largely in the fact that we are living in a *creative* period? Are not social forces at work which are changing the conditions of mankind? Can not thoughtful men see these forces at work, and measure their results? Is not this fact that the world is *creating* new and happier conditions rendered doubly precious and potent because mankind is fully awake to its existence and begins to measure its full significance?

Look at the lives and the thoughts of the people either in the United States or in Europe, and what fact is more striking than the profound unrest which everywhere prevails and the intense dissatisfaction with their conditions of life?

Do not suppose these feelings will evaporate in vain emotion! They are prompting efforts at reforms in every land. They are potent in elections and afterwards in legislation. They influence education. They are leading

the great social movements of the day. They are shaping events.

Nothing is so full of inspiration as the conviction that struggle is not in vain; that we are not fighting in a failing cause, but in a cause sure to win, because God is on our side and it is the will of Providence that the welfare of mankind shall improve from age to age, and that they who wisely work to promote the welfare of mankind are co-workers with the eternal forces of nature.

If it was the watchword of past society, "Devil take the hindmost," is not the new crusade prompted by the conviction that "it is felt to be essential for the welfare of the community that every one of its members must be cared for"?

This is the *Ideal* which takes shape in the best thoughts of the day, and what potentate to-day is powerful enough to cast down the ideal towards which the forces of mankind are consciously and resolutely struggling?

These are the motives that are prompting to the most unselfish, the most zealous efforts in behalf of the welfare of mankind all around the world. These are the convictions which make the work of this Society full of encouragement. These are the convictions which we know inspire the people of Boston, of Massachusetts and of the United States, not merely in dealing with this problem of Peace and War, but with all the great interests which promote the welfare of mankind.

SURVEY THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE PEACE PROBLEM,
As presented in America and Europe, and do we not find on the one hand in the United States everything giving just ground for satisfaction and hope?

First. Peace established around our own borders beyond all reasonable peril.

Second. Profound interest in the welfare of the masses of the people, giving momentum not merely to the study of all social problems, but prompting large numbers of influential and leading men to definite schemes to ameliorate the conditions of the people of our own and of other countries.

Third. We find this country taking the leading part before the eyes of the world in submitting to honorable arbitration great controversies like those over the Alabama claims, and now about our rights in the Behring Sea.

Fourth. The United States have also taken the lead before the world in the promotion, through the Pan-American Congress, of the adoption of resolutions aiming to make treaties of arbitration universal among all civilized nations.

Fifth. The United States have made such treaties of arbitration with all countries of North, Central and South America which have been willing to act.

Sixth. Pursuant to Resolve of Congress, our Executive has issued a request to all other civilized nations, proposing like treaties of arbitration.

Seventh. This action of the United States stands out in the history of the world, honorably preëminent in the pursuit of peace.

Eighth. Nations of Europe and especially the people of Great Britain have been not a little impressed by this action of the United States, and men in England are seeking to induce their government to unite in such a treaty of arbitration with the United States.

So much for the United States. Is it not a sad and striking contrast when we turn to survey the present

conditions of Europe? Who does not agree that they are intolerably oppressive?

The struggles of rival preparation for war are steadily growing in the five great continental nations, demanding larger conscriptions of the young life blood, as well as crushing the industries through Europe by the terribly increasing burdens of taxation.

As these evils increase from bad to worse, the choice only exists between two paths, first, wars probably bloodier than ever before, ending perhaps with new conquests and certainly with embittered hatreds and thereafter with no assurance of Peace. Or secondly, as the other choice, some scheme of common disarmament, with Alsace and Lorraine perhaps neutralized in some way to remove the cause of bitter feud between Germany and France; some scheme of common agreement, or alliance, or partial union.

Of course it is too much to hope that a United Europe will soon grow up after the wonderful type of the United States of America, yet bold and far-seeing men in England already adopt as the ideal of the aims of their civilization, international unity.

So we see in Europe the fierce contentions of two great forces, the spirit of militarism which probably does not count as its supporters one-tenth of the population; and on the other side all the rest of the people together with all the great forces of social progress, of economic intelligence, and of Christian conviction; with the powerful and fascinating example of the United States in its seclusion from war, with its vast industrial growth, with its proclamation to the world of its readiness to enter into treaties of arbitration with all nations, as an influence of continental proportions, steadily working to induce the people of Europe to follow our lead.

Let us not forget that this consciousness that we hold such a preëminent position in the face of the world should not be merely a gratification to our feelings of just pride, but rather an inspiration, and a summons to more devoted loyalty to the most unselfish principles of peace in our own practice, and the utmost exercise of our influence over the more belligerent nations of the world.

WHAT A GRAND OPPORTUNITY

For an onward movement of the cause of the world's peace and union, is now offered to our country in this Columbian World's Fair to be held in 1893 in Chicago!

You all know how Peace Congresses have been recently held from year to year at London, Paris and Rome. This August it meets at Berne.

Next year America will invite the world to observe the progress of mankind in the four hundred years since Columbus discovered this new land. In the vast and various buildings which Chicago is erecting for this exhibition, the mechanic arts will make a display of almost inconceivable interest. The powers of nature with which a loving God has wisely filled the universe we shall there see working obedient to the wish and will of man in myriads of ways, which our ancestors would have punished as the dark deeds of demons, but which we delight to believe are only harbingers of countless new discoveries, to make the world more easily serviceable to man, and which shall, in God's good time, restore the conditions of man's human life almost to the imagined happiness of Eden.

Yet all these *arts* of use to man will hold no fairer share of honor than the display of all that wonderful

growth of knowledge, classified and gathered into the *Sciences*, in all their profound variety, which delight and do honor to the intellect of man.

When the representatives of all nations upon earth shall gather at Chicago to study the progress of mankind upon earth, and to compare the utility of the various arts of human use, and to render homage to the sciences which ennoble the human mind, which of all the causes which will be represented in that world's exhibit, will rank higher in its influence on the welfare of mankind, or rise nearer to the eternal science which is found in the purposes of God, than the CAUSE OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD, which seeks to do away with the cruelties and hates of war, to establish peace and respect and love among the nations of the world, and to secure this transcendent amelioration of the lot of mankind, by treaties, like those we have already made with a few countries, to be solemnly compacted among all, by tribunals to be created by the consent of nations, and to be clothed with power to adjust all disputes which the future may, and possibly by some one grand central tribunal which all civilized nations may constitute and empower to be the Supreme Peace Tribunal of the World.

Is such a triumph of civilization, of human brotherhood, too utopian for practical men to consider? Nay, not so. The eyes of the men who lead the world are open to the superb opportunity now offered to the United States. A PEACE TRIBUNAL OF THE WORLD is demanded by every consideration for the well being of the masses of the people, by all reasons of economy, to extricate Europe from the crushing burdens of armies and navies, and by every Christian motive which can move men, obedient to the will of God, to struggle to make this world happier and better.

Why should a Peace Tribunal of the World seem hopeless to us Americans who see our United States Supreme Court command the homage of the world, with its decrees receiving the unquestioned obedience of nations, as populous and powerful as Pennsylvania and New York. Yes, a Peace Tribunal of the World has been proposed by wise men on both sides of the Atlantic. Steps have been taken at Washington, by a Resolve in the Senate, which authorizes and requests the President to negotiate with foreign nations for "an international agreement for the creation of a proper tribunal wherein disputes between nations may be honorably adjusted without resort to war," and which provides that whenever the President has secured the consent of other nations to consider this proposal, he shall invite the latter to appoint representatives to meet others from the United States for conference respecting such a tribunal, their report to be laid before the Congress "for its consideration and action."

Sink to the level of the daily disputes of the nations of earth; watch their absorbed interest in all things belonging to war; look back through history filled with combats and hatred, and we are weighed down with despair. Contemplate the opportunities which the new conditions offer and we see good ground for hope.

God grant that America may rise to the full height of the grand opportunities which this Columbian World's Fair offers to our great country of some seventy millions of souls, blessed with increasing wealth and assured security, to exert its powerful influence in the world, in unselfish devotion to the welfare of mankind, and especially in behalf of the cause of universal peace, by wise steps to

obtain a gradual adherence of the nations to a scheme for the amicable adjustment of all disputes by a Peace Tribunal of the World.

At the close of Mr. Paine's address, the newly elected Secretary, Rev. Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D., was introduced by Dr. Moxom. He alluded to Dr. Trueblood's long services in the educational field, to his well-known work in the cause of peace and arbitration in England and on the continent of Europe, and to the earnestness and enthusiasm which he brings to his new work as Secretary of the American Peace Society.

THE SECRETARY'S ADDRESS.

ORIGIN, GROWTH AND PURPOSES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

The cause in whose behalf we assemble to-night has just claims to be ranked among the great movements of history. It is world-wide in its interests and in its purposes, and thus resembles the movement for the abolition of slavery which once filled the earth with its horrors. It is like the movement for the elevation of woman, and that for the liberation of the conscience from spiritual tyranny and of thought from the trammels of custom and bigotry. There is not a human being on the face of the globe whom the peace propaganda, in some of its phases, does not seek to bless, not a family beyond the range of its helpfulness, not a nation whose prosperity it would not promote, not an island of the seas however small or far away into whose lap it would not empty the treasures of all lands, not an ocean-shore on which it would not plant its white banner of love and brotherhood. If you consider it in its length and breadth only, no movement can be greater in its aims, unless you go beyond the limits of the earth.

But what of its quality? What are the ideas which underlie it and give it its real meaning? What are the principles which lift it out of the sphere of the visionary and the chimerical and place it in the list of the most practical, the most commanding, and the most certain of realization of all movements? What are its triumphs? Who are the men whose coöperation in its advocacy we may reasonably expect?

This movement has lately grown too large to be longer ignored or frowned out of countenance. Time was, and not so long ago, when a peace man with his tract in his hand was the most unwelcome of guests. He had to apologize for his existence, to say nothing of his intrusion. He was a very stupid man, so considered, wasting his energies on an impossibility, and undermining the very foundations of patriotism and honor. A peace meeting was small and looked upon much as a curiosity in a museum. Statesmen, public orators, writers of books and even ministers of religion avoided mentioning the subject. But that time has gone by. A few brave men, some of them simple others strong, dared to lift their voices in behalf of an unpopular truth, and they have conquered. Men who do not respect the cause now are compelled to defend themselves against it with some thing better than a sneer or a smile of contempt. Within this century great names appear on the list of its defenders. John Bright spent forty years in trying to teach his countrymen that there is but one moral law for nations as for individuals. Victor Hugo, during the same time, was

presenting the magnificent ideal of the coming era of peace, as only his vast constructive genius could do it. Charles Sumner, a prince of senators, was pleading before the bar of his country the true grandeur of a nation as found in peace and not in war. Lowell and Whittier, in lofty and tender verse, sang out through all the land the truths of peace and good-will which had possessed their souls. Many people heard, and the whole aspect of things has been changed. Many statesmen in all the great parliaments of the world are profoundly impressed with the new movement and are beginning openly to defend it. Respect and approval, in sentiment if not in practice, are taking the place of contempt and neglect. Only last year the world's Peace Congress, which was then only two years old, was given a reception in the halls of the Italian State House, and the year before Windsor Palace was opened, as not to ordinary visitors, to the delegates of the London Congress.

The peace movement is much older than many suppose, or rather it has two distinct phases, the one old and not very definitely marked, but running parallel with all the upward movement of society; the other belonging to this century, a conscious and definite work, directed by leaders with a clear conception of what they wish to accomplish. In the first of these aspects, the peace movement began in that early time when two men or two women, when two families or two tribes first made the effort to live side by side and carry on their vocations without molesting each other; or when two communities, near each other or far away, first began to exchange the products of their labor or to help each other in accomplishing what they could not do separately. There were doubtless in those early times of nomadic life many beautiful incidents like that of Abraham and Lot, where selfish interests were laid aside and selfish passions controlled for the material good of both, or for the deeper reason that they were brethren. The brotherhood of humanity has always asserted itself, in some measure, often feebly and spasmodically, but none the less really. The modern ideas of fraternity and solidarity, now so distinctly comprehended and so emphatically uttered by peace men, are nothing more than the clear expression of the vague thoughts and feelings which from the first led men more or less in their relations one to another. This movement went on through all the centuries, as families widened into tribes and tribes into nations. Great wars, so-called incessant wars even, could never wholly obliterate it. Every truce was an expression of it, every treaty of peace, every admission of foreign ships into one's ports, every entertainment of guests that called at one's door, every meeting of worshippers in a national or international temple like that of Diana at Ephesus, every effort to establish laws and construct governments for the regulation of men's actions. Peace, therefore, has always existed in some measure, because it has been a necessity. Men could not live and commune with one another and buy and sell and get gain without it. Their natures demanded it as well as their business, and from the power of these two principles they could never wholly free themselves for any great length of time, not even in the maddest periods of history.

It is a serious mistake, often made from a one-sided view of the facts, to suppose that the history of the world has all been a history of slaughter and death. It is true, that part of the history which has been written has been largely such. War flames and bleeds and

crashes on nearly every page of it. Historians have coolly, shall I say criminally, neglected the truest side of human activity. And yet in spite of them peace has lived and done its work. More hours, more years of the world's history have been spent in peace than in war; more people, at any given time, have lived and wrought in peace than in war. When Cæsar was ruthlessly crushing the Gauls; when Alexander was ambitiously pushing his victorious armies into India; when Hannibal was turning his Numidian cavalry loose upon the Roman armies in northern Italy; when Gustavus Adolphus and the Duke of Wallenstein were devastating central and northern Europe; when Napoleon and Wellington had apparently gathered all the fighting strength of Europe for the awful carnage of Waterloo;—at all these times and all others of a like kind, multitudes of people in communities, and even as whole nations, were playing the arts of life in peace and in fairly good fellowship. No nation was ever so haughty, so exclusive or so cruel that citizens of other lands did not cross its frontiers and mingle in safety with its own people.

"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was said by them of old time; it has been said frightfully often by them of modern time; but it was never the real law of humanity, controlling the main currents of its existence. It could not be. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," "Be patient toward all men," was this law, realized in some degree in every country and in every time.

It will be objected, that where open war was not going on hatred and malice and vengeance rankled in the heart ready to break out on the slightest provocation. This is all, sad to say, too true. But these feelings never existed in all hearts, except at certain critical moments, and the fact that they so often did not break out into open violence is proof that powerful restraining forces were operating to counteract them and hold them in check. It is these restraining forces that made for peace and harmony and preserved humanity from destruction when the currents of war were running deep and angry. It is these forces, acting on individuals and, through heredity, on races, that have trained men to that patience, forbearance, mutual respect and consideration which have been attained. Some of these forces are natural, lying in the constitution of man and of society; others are supernatural, originating in the life, teachings and death of Jesus Christ. But they all operate on society together, crossing and recrossing, working in sight and out of sight, for the attainment of that state of righteousness and peace which God has in view both in his providences and in his grace.

I would not be understood to depreciate the historic prevalence of the dreadful curse of war. It looks all the more monstrous when seen in contrast with this gentler and nobler movement. One would like to shut his eyes to it all, and believe only in the existence of that of which I have been speaking. But that is impossible. War and the war spirit have made ravages of which ten thousand years of undisturbed peace will not be able to efface the memories. These forces making for peace, to which allusion has been made above, have often been trampled under foot and crushed, while the tide of war rolled wildly above. Men have treated each other as anything

Peace Society. Though counting in his family several distinguished officers, he is anxious to give what is left of his life to promoting what seems to him something inconceivably nobler than the mere fleeting and at the same time false glory of war. Such conversions to the higher movements of our time among men who have seen much of the horrors of war, are becoming increasingly common on both sides of the Atlantic.

Rev. Philip S. Moxom, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston, and one of the most active and influential members of the American Peace Society, has just sailed for Europe. He is accompanied by Mrs. Moxom and Mrs. H. B. Goodwin. They will visit England, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland and France. Dr. Moxom, who was a delegate to the London Peace Congress in 1890, will represent the American Peace Society at Berne in August. Mrs. Moxom and Mrs. Goodwin have also been appointed delegates.

The death, not long since, of Dr. Robert McMurdy, has removed from the peace ranks, a strong and very influential man. He was for a number of years the corresponding secretary of the World's Arbitration League, which was organized in 1880, and which has had on its roll of membership the names of many influential congressmen of both houses. Through the influence of this League at Washington, President Garfield was induced early in his administration to call an American conference on arbitration. This conference, however, finally failed to be held, on account of Garfield's death. Dr. McMurdy was a man who kept himself much out of sight, but through others did very efficient service in a practical and lasting way.

Kate Marsden, who is doing such noble service for the relief of the lepers in Siberia, is coming to the United States to enlist interest in her work.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, who in addition to his numerous other beneficent activities, is one of the Directors of the American Peace Society, is to spend two months of the summer in Europe. Letters of travel will be sent weekly by him to *The Commonwealth*, Boston, of which he is one of the editors.

All the soldiers in the world cannot save a nation that sins against God.—*Hugh Price Hughes.*

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else but men. There are pages in the annals of nations which make one think of a battle of demons in a paroxysm of fury. Every interest of individuals, of families and of societies has been sacrificed to passion and greed. My thought then is, not that we should try to see roses where only thorns have grown, but that the presence of the deadly and hateful Upas tree, whose poisonous breath has fallen upon all lands, should not so absorb our attention as to make us overlook the tree of love and hope, planted by the Father, planted again by Jesus Christ, growing and bearing some fruit in every age and every clime, which is ultimately with its leaves to heal the nations. There can be no hope for the future to him who sees no buddings of good in the long years of evil gone by.

When Christ came, and taught and suffered and died, He at once lifted into prominence, sealed with his own divine signet, these principles of love and brotherhood and peace. He lived and died for them. He answered falsehood with truth, hatred with love, violence with patience. The truth was his only weapon of self-defence, his only instrument for breaking down systems of wrong. Henceforth, the sermon on the mount was to stand on the title page as the new and living text of the future transformation and progress of the world. Many have poorly comprehended its meaning; others have ignored it; some have explained its meaning away; it has been pronounced too high and pure for practice; but it has still stood there, reading itself into the mind and conscience of men, and changing slowly but surely the life of the world. The first two or three generations of Christian history were a strong and unqualified protest against the lawfulness of war, from the standpoint of Christ's law of love. Then there came a period when Christians fell away in practice from the lesson of their Master. This protest against the barbarity and inhumanity of war was again revived at the close of the seventeenth century, when George Fox set all England astir and William Penn and Robert Barclay were proving the practicability of their theories in the management of two of the thirteen American colonies. Since that time this protest has never ceased to make itself heard. At least one Christian body, and many individuals in others, have held incorporated in their fundamental Christian tenets the principles of love and forbearance and peace, which seem to be elemental in the Christian gospel.

At the beginning of this century the peace movement in its second phase begins. Here everything becomes definite, pronounced and full of conscious purpose. The race is no longer simply drifting toward peace, impelled by forces of whose activity it is scarcely aware, but it lays hold upon it, as upon a great discovery, with the intensity and enthusiasm of a great purpose. Here man is not simply the instrument of God, nor even his servant, but a co-worker with Him. The thought came to the mind of the nineteenth century, in its early dawning, that if neighbors can live together in peace, if farmers can till the soil side by side and settle their difficulties by arbitration or by the peaceful forms of law, if six merchants can do business on the same street without knocking one another down or blowing one another's brains out, then nations can do likewise; the long periods of peace and consequent prosperity that have prevailed so often in the past may be made permanent and unending, and war ought to be, and may be banished from the face of the

earth. That was a conception worthy of this age of world-wide schemes of beneficence, both secular and religious.

The smoke of Waterloo, the pivotal battle in history, the turning point from the old order of things to the new, had not vanished before peace societies began to spring up on both sides of the Atlantic. Organized effort, the enlightenment and consolidation of public opinion, in a positive and definite way, began. Probably more than one hundred such organizations have sprung into existence within seventy-five years, and some of the oldest of these are still living and growing stronger every day. Petitions in behalf of peaceful methods of settling difficulties have been widely circulated and numerous signed. Resolutions looking toward arbitral treaties and a high court of nations have been introduced again and again into several eminent parliaments. Nearly a hundred serious difficulties have been settled by arbitration, without a drop of blood, at trifling cost, and with no loss to national honor. It is a cause of just pride to every citizen of this country that the United States has been a party to nearly one-half of these. Wars have been greatly reduced in number, in frequency, in duration, and they have been more and more localized, or confined to narrow tracts of country. This century has seen personal fights nearly suppressed and the duel practically outlawed. This present half of the century has reached the conviction that nearly all the wars of history have been a great mistake if not a great crime. Missions, commerce, literature, the postal system, railroads, steamships, telegraphs, have gone round the world, uniting all men together and literally annihilating the old exclusiveness of nationality. In view of these superb evolutions of human, not national, not racial, but human nature and human accomplishment, the question is upon the tongue of many thoughtful men, how can war be any longer allowed? What awful desolations it would now make! Many more are asking themselves this than their speech would indicate. He who can see, in the changes that have taken place so rapidly and so widely in our time, no cause for hope of the utter abolition of war, is the chief of pessimists. He is like a man crouched in the corner of a damp, dark cellar, growling over the wretchedness of his quarters, while beyond the walls of his despair the winds are blowing softly and the sun is filling the heavens with glory.

I do not forget, however, that the darkness of hatred and strife and the danger of bloodshed are still around us, and that many good men have no confidence in the peace cause. The air is thick with evil forebodings and rumors of war. Prodigious armies, passing all former ones in size and equipment, are ready at a moment's notice to march out on their deadly errand. The military system, hoary with age and full of pride and haughtiness, frowns upon us from a thousand battlements, shakes its merciless steel points in our faces and threatens to sweep us out of existence in the twinkling of an eye by its ponderous guns. Mars never shook his shaggy locks and looked so frightful as now. But we must not misinterpret all this. The very perfection of war is revealing its real intrinsic hideousness. Every great evil strives to live as long as possible, and for this reason perfects itself to the utmost. But therein is to be seen the sign of its coming speedy destruction. Like the Devil in the Apocalypse, it is doing its best because it knows its time is short. Let us not forget, however, that evil of any kind never dies of itself. Good men must attack it vigorously on all

sides, pursue it wherever it flees, drive it from all its hiding places and pierce it to death. War is about to disappear because the forces of a better civilization have so long been undermining it. It may make one last desperate struggle to hold its ground and deluge all Europe in blood, but it can not much longer withstand the accumulating forces of good which are closing in upon it on every side. The hand of God is against it in the very constitution of humanity. His Fatherhood condemns it. It can not be fundamentally right for man to kill his own kith and kin. Christ's supreme law of love is against it. It can not be right to kill those for whom He died and whom we ought to love for his sake and their own. The hand of industry and commerce is against it. These require that men should live in continuous, harmonious contact with one another, and in mutual respect and confidence. Reason is against it from beginning to end. Questions of right and justice can be settled at no other tribunal than that of right and justice. Childhood, womanhood, old age, all plead for its disappearance, for these suffer most from its ravages and are powerless to defend themselves against its cruelties.

Whose coöperation, then, may we reasonably expect in our efforts to abolish war and to promote peace? That of all good men certainly, under whatever banner they may be fighting against wrong. From evil men we can of course hope for no aid, except as their lives may be made by God, unconsciously to themselves, to contribute to the final good. But men who love the good and devote themselves to its establishment are for that very reason peace men. They may show no active sympathy with the peace propaganda, they may even pretend to be opposed to what we are doing, and yet if they are good men, really promoting any good thing, they are essentially peace men, for what they are doing is helping to bring on the coming peace. How any such man, after thinking a moment, can stand aloof from the cause and not give it his undivided support I can not comprehend. Some decline to do anything because they think it useless. The war system is too big a thing ever to be broken down. Is not that the argument of a weakling, and not of a man of faith and courage? He who labors for a moral cause only because he sees chances of success is selfish and self-seeking, and unworthy of the place which he has presumed to occupy. Others hesitate to enter the lists for peace because they believe that war in defence of one's country and its honor is not only lawful but a sacred duty. The poorest citizen of the land, they say, has a right to the entire military strength of the nation in his defence under whatever flag he may find himself. Though holding myself, for a number of reasons which can not be given to-night, that war in our day under any circumstances is unlawful, I appreciate thoroughly the position which these men hold. I well know that good and true men, Christian men, have gone to war conscientiously and that such may be the case hereafter. I would not pretend to be their judge. But a time comes when that which may have been relatively right and permissible, but which at the same time is radically and fundamentally wrong, has to be abandoned by all good men. To hesitate, to hold to the past, to make the old apologies, is sin. If war be right, under the conditions which these men make, it is such an awfully cruel and expensive way of doing right, that every man of truth and goodness must long with all his being to assist in preventing the necessity of its occurrence.

Permit me to say, in conclusion, that the peace movement is not simply destructive, but also eminently constructive. While it seeks to do away with city walls and forts and arsenals; while it would sheathe or rather destroy every sword and bayonet and cannon; while it would anchor forever every battle-ship and disband all the great armies of the world; it at the same time tries to teach men to be gentle and kind and forbearing; it seeks to bring them into more intimate acquaintance one with another, by travel, by conferences, by the promotion of all legitimate means of better intercommunication and by closer industrial and commercial relations; it endeavors to give the freest play to the heroic in human nature by giving men the moral and spiritual battles of truth to fight; it lifts the patriotism of country into the nobler and higher patriotism of humanity; it seeks to remove all the causes of misunderstanding and strife between nations whether they be well-founded or ill-founded; it plans for arbitral treaties and a high court of nations, before which every claim of every nation, small or great, may have a full and impartial hearing, a tribunal where the voice of passion and greed and ambition is not heard. Peace men are not proposing that the rights and liberties and interests of nations be sacrificed, when they urge that swords be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks; but their aim is to give these an infinitely higher protection and sanction by taking them out of the domain of force and craft, where they are oftener sacrificed than sustained, and bringing them for vindication before a tribunal whose fairness and impartiality will be the only sanction needed to enforce its decisions. With these purposes in view the peace movement asks your sympathy and your hearty coöperation.

At the close of the Secretary's address Dr. Moxom, in a brief, pointed speech, called attention to the great difference between this country and Europe as regards the war spirit and war preparations. He alluded, graphically, to what he had seen in Europe, where men are led out every morning to march, and shoot, and prepare for the expected conflict with their dreaded enemies. He said that the better feelings of the people are opposed to all this feverish preparation and enormous waste of resources, but that they felt, many of them, that it was a necessity from which they could not escape. Some of them, however, were of opinion that a great uprising against it would soon occur and an imperative demand that it should all stop. He said that the advocates of peace are not a pusillanimous set, not knowing how to defend themselves and their rights, but that their purpose is to lift conflict, which must still go on, out of the realm of brute force into that of moral effort, and so ennoble it. He closed with a reference to the three stages through which the opposition to war passes. It is first seen to be wasteful, then unreasonable and lastly immoral.

The following hymn, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, was sung at the close of the service.

"ANGEL OF PEACE."

Angel of Peace, thou hast wandered too long!
 Spread thy white wings to the sunshine of love!
 Come while our voices are blended in song,—
 Fly to our ark like the storm-beaten dove!
 Fly to our ark on the wings of the dove.
 Speed o'er the far sounding billows of song,
 Crowned with thine olive-leaf garland of love,—
 Angel of Peace, thou hast waited too long!

Brothers we meet, on this altar of thine
 Mingling the gifts we have gathered for thee,
 Sweet with the odors of myrtle and pine,
 Breeze of the prairie and breath of the sea,
 Meadow and mountain and forest and sea!
 Sweet is the fragrance of myrtle and pine,
 Sweeter the incense we offer to thee,
 Brothers once more round this altar of thine!

Angels of Bethlehem, answer the strain!
 Hark! a new birth-song is filling the sky!
 Loud as the storm-wind that tumbles the main,
 Bid the full breath of the organ reply,
 Let the loud tempest of voices reply,—
 Roll its long surge like the earth-shaking main!
 Swell the vast song till it mounts to the sky! —
 Angels of Bethlehem, echo the strain!

About eighteen hundred years ago, when Rome was mistress of the world, the Emperor Titus, who was counted the most enlightened and liberal of Cæsars, celebrated universal conquest by the dedication of a coliseum. Within its walls were gathered eight thousand spectators who represented all that there was of religion and culture of the Roman Empire. Neither eloquence nor music nor song was permitted. Captives who were the flower of the youth of every nation were forced into the arena as gladiators and five thousand of them slaughtered amid the plaudits of the Emperor, senators, priests and people. Thousands of early Christian martyrs, men, women and children, were mangled, torn and devoured by wild beasts. Centuries have come and gone, most of them presenting only bloody records of suffering and sorrow. Millions have died upon the battlefield and upon the scaffold, dynasties have been overthrown, empires disrupted, continents ravaged and the people kept in brutish ignorance and slavery; but, upon this Western hemisphere freedom from caste and tradition, the equality of all men before their Maker and the laws, the equal opportunities for every one to rise to the highest places in the State, and to grasp the largest industrial and commercial prizes, the generous recognition of mutual obligations, one to the other, have created an empire greater in power and incalculably better in every attribute of beneficent sovereignty than Rome. The principles of its government have influenced and are influencing and liberalizing the institutions of every nation in the world.

It has welcomed the people from every land, and over the unseen wires of affection the messages of liberty are passing from every emigrant's home to the village of the old world from which he came. In this hall will gather to-morrow the representatives of one-half or more of sixty-five millions of people. They meet to nominate the man who shall conduct their government and to formulate the principles which will control its policy. The stake is boundless empire and majestic power. It is a prize which has been in all ages the first source of rebel-

lions and of civil wars, but under our institutions an issue is settled not by bullets, but by ballots. If the result of the final contest shall be defeat for the man and the measures here put before the country, the minority will loyally support the Government and maintain its laws. If it shall be victory the other defeated party will, with equal good temper, acquiesce, and the result will redound for the glory of the republic and for the happiness of its people.—*Chauncey M. Depew, at the Minneapolis Convention.*

THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONCORD THROUGH UNIVERSITY TEACHING.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE PEACE CONGRESS IN ROME,
NOVEMBER LAST.

1. *Resolved*, "That it is desirable to adopt such measures as shall enable the students of all universities in Europe and America to attain a spirit of respect and friendship towards the people of foreign nations.

2. *Resolved*, "That with this object it is necessary that in every university the professors of history should provide thorough instruction in the progress of civilization, political, social and religious reform in all countries as well as in their own; and especially direct attention to the special services rendered by each foreign country to the progress of mankind.

3. *Resolved*, further, "That such changes shall be made in the statutes of universities which may at present impede the resort of a student to any foreign university, at which he may wish to obtain special instruction without forfeiting his position in his own university, inasmuch as the associations of students of different nationalities, as in the middle ages, will tend powerfully to remove international prejudices and ill feeling as well as promote the progress of knowledge.

4. *Resolved* therefore, "That an annual Conference and university fête of international fraternity be held successively at the seats of the great universities to consider how the above object may be carried out, the said fête including international contests, viz., gymnastics and similar exercises, and in contests of merit in poetry and prose on subjects relating to International concord and coöperation."

AMONG THE PAPERS.

Hon. William L. Putnam, of Portland, Maine, who was one of the speakers at that place on Memorial Day, as reported in the *Portland Daily Press*, said among other things the following:

I avail myself of the opportunity with which you have honored me to make an appeal in favor of peace, and I know of no topic more fitting for the day so reverently given to the memory of those who died for peace, through justice, and set apart for the annual gatherings of those

who fought for the Union, that internal dissensions might forever be allayed, and by whose efforts and victory, in the opinion of the North and South, East and West, peace has been given to this vast portion of the continent which we control, so far in the future as human eye can look.

The crowning act of the life of Washington was his prompt laying aside of the sword at the close of the Revolution.

The grim-visaged Jackson, when he became President of the United States, and during the whole tenure of his office as such, governed his relations with foreign nations with so conciliatory a course as to invoke the censure of his opponents on that account.

The great chieftain Grant, as President of the United States, gave to the world the greatest example of peace in history in the tribunal that sat at Geneva; and the present President, himself a distinguished general, has referred to another great tribunal of arbitration the irritating and dangerous question in which we are involved with our neighbors across the sea.

The hiring soldier of despotism makes his conquest only the basis of a more bloody conquest; but the free soldier of the republic reverses the old maxim, and in time of war prepares for peace.

With reference to the nations south of us, both on this continent and on the continent of South America, we owe a peculiar duty. We have said to the world—and we have said justly and properly—that we will tolerate no interference from powers across the water with these great continents; [applause] but when we say that, we cannot fold our arms and add that we are not our brother's keeper! When we take the position that no nation outside of this continent shall interfere, we assume a duty and a great duty.

Unfortunately, in the nations south of us, internal dissensions and foreign wars have turned back the tide of civilization.

We, ourselves, in the course of our history, have forty-eight times referred our controversies to tribunals of arbitration, and twice during the last ten years, with great wisdom and in the love of peace, the administration at Washington has urged the people south of us to lay down their arms and settle their controversies in the same way in which we have settled so many of ours.

It does not become our policy to intervene by armed force, or by force of any sort, in the affairs of those nations. They are sensitive and intolerant of anything like interference by force or otherwise. We can only perform our duties to them by maintaining friendly intercourse, and by exhibiting the benefits which grow from a system of peace insisted on and pursued year in and year out, and a line of relations with foreign governments based on the principles laid down in the inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln: "Malice towards none, charity for all, firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." [Applause.]

We are all taught as children from that immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are our inalienable rights. . . .

The whole system of the common law of England seems to be devoted to the protection of human life. By the law, the life of no man, no matter how wretched, no matter how guilty, can be forfeited unless the forms of the law are complied with in all the minutest particulars; and, while the mills of the gods grind slowly, and while we cannot foresee much of the future, and while the time of